

Policy Team—III

Nixon Seeks Rogers' Views on Top Issues

Reporters of The Washington Post have intensively interviewed many of the men who, while not a part of the campaign staff, are contributing ideas and advice on national policy to Vice President Richard M. Nixon. These men, businessmen, Government officials and university professors, were asked what they think Government should do in America today. This is the third of a series of articles based on these interviews.

By James E. Clayton

Staff Reporter

If Richard M. Nixon becomes President of the United States, the second most important figure in the country will be a man whose office is now, coincidentally, almost halfway between Nixon's office in the Capitol and the White House.

William P. Rogers may continue as Attorney General in a Nixon Administration. Or he may do something else. But regardless of what he does, Rogers is and is likely to remain Nixon's closest personal friend and most trusted adviser.

A man whose career has remarkable resemblances to Nixon's, Rogers is many of the things Nixon is not. He

is big, blond, and handsome. He has a reputation for fairness and frankness that is unusual for a politician. His charming smile and quick friendliness make you think he wants you to call him "Bill" five minutes after you first meet him.

As Attorney General, Rogers has steered the Eisenhower Administration's end of two civil rights bills through Congress. He has moved slowly in court fights over civil rights, so slowly that his critics complain he is dragging his feet even as they admit his reasons for doing so are valid. He has attracted top-flight young lawyers to his department. And his antitrust

Sen. Gore says political polls are "meaningless," and urges Senate investigation. Page A12.

section has cracked down on business as no Republican Administration has done since the days of Theodore Roosevelt.

His friendship with the Vice President is best illustrated by what Nixon did after President Eisenhower suffered his heart attack in 1955. When Nixon was told by telephone of the President's illness, he sat in his home in Spring

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picked up the phone and dialed a Bethesda number.

"I wonder if you could come over, Bill?" he asked.

Rogers was there in 15 minutes. As a crowd of newsmen and sightseers gathered outside, he and the Vice President slipped out a side door and down the alley. They drove to Rogers' home where Nixon spent the day and the night when, at any moment, the burden of the Presidency could have fallen to him.

Three years before, when Nixon had his back to the wall and there was talk of his dropping off the ticket in the 1952 election because of expense funds given him by California friends, Rogers was the man who counseled with him.

Talk Out Problems

This year, as the 1960 campaign has approached, it has been Rogers to whom Nixon has turned to talk out his problems.

Now 47, Rogers has been on the national scene for 13 years. He arrived in Washington in 1947, a year after Nixon was elected to the House of Representatives, to serve as chief counsel to a Senate investigation committee which looked into the affairs of Howard Hughes, Maj. Gen. Bennett E. Meyers, John Maragon, William Remington, five-per centers, and Arabian-American oil operations.

In 1950, Rogers went into private practice in Washington, but he was back in Government in 1953 as deputy attorney general. When Herbert Brownell Jr. stepped out as Attorney General in 1955, Rogers moved up to succeed him.

Like Nixon, Rogers got his education through scholarships and by working part time. He went to Colgate and Cornell Law School at the time Nixon was attending Whittier College and Duke Law School.

Nixon finished third in his class at Duke in 1937, the year Rogers was finishing fifth in his class at Cornell. Both can be called self-made men.

If there is one topic on which Rogers' views may be more important to Nixon than any other, it is civil rights.

Rogers is proud of what the Eisenhower Administration has done in the civil rights field. He thinks the criticism that his department has moved too slowly is unjustified. He leaves the impression, without saying so, that he would like to see the White House take a more active interest in civil rights matters.

Nixon already has indicated that he will be more active in this area. His remarks in Greensboro, N. C., last week were a clear endorsement of the Supreme Court's desegregation decree, an endorsement President Eisenhower has never given. Nixon also has been chairman of the President's Committee on Government Contracts which has worked to end discrimination on Federal building projects.

Defends Court Role

Rogers is not disturbed by the argument that the executive and legislative departments have left too much of the desegregation fight in schools up to the courts. He believes that in the long run the courts will be ennobled because of their role. It is the courts which will be remembered in history as the agency

of Government which brought equal rights to all Americans, he believes.

In defending his department against charges that it has not filed enough cases in the struggle to get Negroes registered to vote, Rogers argues that the first cases filed in each new line of attack upon registration procedures had to be perfect.

Aware that one of the difficulties the New Deal programs met in the courts was that they were tested in weak cases, Rogers has tried to ensure that the test civil rights cases have strong facts on his side. He has lost none of them.

Rogers also is aware that some advances in civil rights can be made through Government intervention in a quiet manner. This was the tool he used in goading chain store owners in some Southern areas to open their lunch counters to Negroes.

But he is dubious of those people who urge conferences and discussions on all civil rights problems. Bringing some Southerners together to talk about civil rights is just a waste of time, he contends. Indeed, he is afraid that some conferences backfire by giving die-hard segregationists a national platform to air their views.

Thus he opposed Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson's conciliation proposal which would have set up an agency to get Southern groups together. Rogers would like to see conferences held only when there is almost positive assurance that an agreement will come from them.

Views Echoed by Hannah

Many of his views are echoed by John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University and a member of Nixon's Policy Advisory Group. Hannah, 57, has been chairman of the Civil Rights Commission since it was organized in 1957.

A tough, strong administrator, Hannah has been an assistant secretary of defense and is chairman of the United States section of the Permanent Joint Board of Defense of the United States and Canada. His views on civil rights and foreign aid, two of the topics of major concern to him, fit into his views on education.

In a speech in Brazil last spring, Hannah said: "Oftentimes we pay a high price for the blessings of democracy in the relative slowness with which we achieve the objectives to which the majority subscribe. But in (school desegregation) . . . the will of the majority will eventually prevail without undue coercing, threatening, or punishing those who hold the minority point of view."

Hannah argues that there is no easy solution to civil rights problems. "It is delicate because we are dealing with what is essentially an emotional problem; and when men's emotions are involved, they are less than fully rational," he says.

The objectives of America, he says, must be to let every citizen, regardless of race, color or religion, "develop his God-given potential," "make a maximum personal contribution" to our society, and "enjoy the same rewards" from his contribution that white citizens now receive.

Education, Hannah says, is the answer. But education and voting rights, he adds, "are of little value if minority



ATTY. GEN. ROGERS

... closest adviser

groups are forced by any circumstances to live in slums . . . The price of slum housing is far too high in terms of health, crime, and juvenile delinquency for a democratic society to pay."

The next job for the Civil Rights Commission, he thinks, is to study discrimination in housing, fair employment practices, and the administration of justice.

But the answer for all these, he comes back to, is education. And the Federal Government must be willing to help.

At the college level where he has had his experience, Hannah wants more Federal money made available for construction. This would free other money for teachers' salaries.

He does not think Federal control of education is an issue, though he wants no

Federal control. As head of a land grant college which draws both state and Federal support now, he says he has had no trouble with legislative interference and sees no reason why there should be any.

The man inside the Eisenhower Administration closest to Nixon on education problems is Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming. Others on the Nixon Policy Advisory Group most concerned with this problem are Marion Folsom, Flemming's predecessor in the Cabinet; Lawrence A. Kimpton, chancellor of the University of Chicago; Millard G. Roberts, president of Parsons College in Iowa, and John E. Burchard, dean of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The views of these advisers all are close to those of Hannah when he says, "If we are going to have increased educational facilities, there is going to have to be Federal assistance."

They suggest that the President should be active in arousing concern throughout the Nation for increasing both the quantity and the quality of education. They speak about the idea of tax credits for parents who are paying tuition for their children. They wonder if the humanities have been de-emphasized too much in the push for science education.

They see education as the way in which the Nation can go about building the better world they hope for. And they think Nixon agrees with them.

Wednesday: Nixon's advisers think this Administration has not done enough in its welfare programs.

Local Fence-Fixers Stir Envy of Congressmen

Congressmen representing the nearby areas of Maryland and Virginia were the envy of colleagues from distant places yesterday as the House finally got down to serious business.

For Reps. John R. Foley (D-Md.), Richard E. Lankford (D-Md.) and Joel T. Broyhill (R-Va.), it was obviously going to be easy to do their election campaigning nights and weekends whether Congress stays in session or not.

The three Congressmen took the noble stance yesterday and insisted that they really had not got their campaigns under way so there really was no advantage living in the shadow of the Capitol.

Foley conceded that there might be a "night engagement" or two; Lankford agreed that there might be an occasional weekend speech or Party gathering; Broyhill would go ahead with a "regular" speaking schedule that was only remotely connected with reelection.

Rep. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii), made no bones about the advantages of living near the Capitol in an election year.

"I'm 11 hours, at best, by plane and \$720 away from my constituents," said Inouye.

He faces not only a spirited opponent in November, but primary opposition, too, in a campaign that is already going on.

His hope—like the hope of most Congressmen—is that the session does not go too far into September. He will go far into September. One date Inouye is planning to keep anyway: He will go to Hawaii when Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex.), Democratic candidate for Vice President, makes the trip in September.

Inouye wouldn't even concede that area Congressmen have a distinct disadvantage in that their constituents are breathing down their necks from nearby suburbia.

"I have an average of six visitors from Hawaii in my office every day and you don't brush off voters who have traveled 5000 miles to see you," he said.

Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) took a damned-if-you-do-damned-if-you-don't attitude.

"If I don't make appearances in my district I'll be criticized; if I leave Washington and miss important votes I'll be criticized. I've decided the best thing is to stay here, vote, and save the money. You can't win, anyway," he commented.

But Rep. Randall Harmon (D-Ind.) was philosophical about the whole thing.

"Sure my opponent is brunching, coffeeing and tearing all over the place," said Harmon, "but I don't plan to start rolling for a while yet."